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ABSTRACT

Ways that women are frequently treated in their relationships with faculty, administrators, staff, and male peers in campus situations and settings outside the classroom are discussed. Problems are highlighted in the following areas: admissions and financial aid; academic advising and career counseling; projects with other students and with faculty; lab and field work; work study and campus employment; internships; health care; campus safety; residential, social, and cultural life; athletics; and student government and leadership. Climate problems frequently experienced by women from special groups (minority women, older women, and disabled women) are also discussed. Included are policy recommendations for administrators, general institutional recommendations, and general recommendations for individuals, as well as recommendations concerning: academic advising and career counseling, training programs, residential life, curriculum, leadership, the media, women from special groups, and students. The contributions that women's centers can make to help identify and meet women's needs are described. Also included are a checklist to help colleges evaluate and improve the out-of-class climate for women, a 26-item bibliography, and a list of resource organizations. (SW)

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OUT OF THE CLASSROOM: A CHILLY CAMPUS CLIMATE FOR WOMEN?

Roberta M. Hall and Bernice R. Sandler

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

THE CAMPUS CLIMATE 1
EVALUATION, DEVALUATION AND THE OUT-OF-CLASS CLIMATE 3
- Everyday Inequities in the Campus Environment 4
- General Behaviors That Single Out Women 4
- General Behaviors That Overlook Women 4
- Men's and Women's Communication Patterns: Mixed Signals 5
- The Effects of a Chilly Campus Climate 5

SUPPORT SERVICES, EMPLOYMENT AND COURSE-RELATED EXPERIENCES 6
- Admissions and Financial Aid 6
- Academic Advising and Career Counseling 6
- Projects with Other Students and With Faculty 7
- Lab and Field Work 8
- Work Study and Campus Employment 8
- Internships 9
- Health Care 9
- Campus Safety 9

RESIDENTIAL, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CLIMATE: A REEVALUATION 9
- General Climate 9
- Athletics 10
- Student Government and Leadership 11

GROUPS OF WOMEN WHO MAY BE ESPECIALLY AFFECTED 11
- Minority Women 11
- Older Women 12
- Disabled Women 12

FACILITATING CHANGE 13

RECOMMENDATIONS 13

INSTITUTIONAL SELF-EVALUATION CHECKLIST 17

SELECTED RESOURCES 18

NOTES 19

THE CAMPUS CLIMATE

> *"In teaching women, we have two choices: to lend our weight to the forces that indoctrinate women to passivity, self-deprecation, and a sense of powerlessness, in which case the issue of 'taking women students seriously' is a moot one; or to consider what we have to work against, as well as with, in ourselves, in our students, in the content of the curriculum, in the structure of the institution, in the society at large."*[1]
>
> *"Of course, the problems which women and racial or ethnic minorities face here, and the cultural climate itself, are not merely shaped out of whole cloth by the College, nor are they entirely within the College's power to solve. The roots of sexual, racial, ethnic and class inequalities will continue to beset students after their graduation regardless of what the College does. Nevertheless it is our... conviction that there is much more which could be done here to improve all students' abilities to interact on a basis of... equality during their college years."*[2]

Many experts in student development—and many college graduates—contend that what happens **outside** the classroom is as important for students' personal and intellectual growth as what happens **inside** the classroom. The wide range of activities and experiences involving all members of the campus community—faculty, staff and students—are not so much **extra**-curricular as **co**-curricular: they are complementary and crucial parts of the learning process. Ideally, the college environment as a whole should help students acquire knowledge, build skills and confidence, learn how to make informed choices, and how to handle differences—including those of race, class and gender.

That colleges and universities too often fail to meet this challenge—especially in the case of women students—is underscored by findings of the most extensive longitudinal study of student development to date. It concludes that "[e]ven though men and women are presumably exposed to common liberal arts curriculum and other educational programs during the undergraduate years, it would seem that these programs serve more to preserve, rather than to reduce, stereotypic differences between men and women in behavior, personality, aspirations and achievement."[3]

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The postsecondary community has become increasingly concerned about such issues as the continuing low enrollment of women in "traditionally masculine" fields,[4] the fact that women undergraduates feel less confident about their preparation for graduate school than men,[5] and the surprising **decline** in academic and career aspirations experienced by many women students during their college years.[6] These concerns take on a new significance given current and projected enrollment patterns: women students are the "new majority" of undergraduates. The education of women is literally central to the postsecondary enterprise.

Despite women's gains in access to higher education—especially since the passage of Title IX*—women undergraduate and graduate students frequently do not enjoy full equality of educational opportunity on campus. Students attest, and research confirms, that women students are often treated differently than men at all educational levels, including college, graduate and professional school, even when they attend the same institutions, share the same classrooms, work with the same advisers, live in the same residence halls and use the same student services.

Many factors, including familial and social expectations, may contribute to the preservation of these differences. However, the institutional "atmosphere," "environment" or "climate" also plays a crucial role in fostering or impeding women students' full personal, academic and professional development. As members of one institutional commission on campus life explain, although their college "houses a diverse group of people . . . [t]hat does not make it diverse . . . Many women and minority students think that both attitudinal and institutional factors relegate them to second-class status." From their standpoint, "this is . . . a fragmented community, dominated by a core group whose particular values are supported by the larger community and by the College itself."[7] Traditionally geared to the intellectual and personal development of men from upper and middle class backgrounds, many colleges and universities may perpetuate an environment in which differences and divisions are inadvertently intensified rather than reduced.

In an earlier paper, *The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women?*[8] the Project on the Status and Education of Women examined the atmosphere **inside** the classroom, and identified many behaviors by which faculty of both sexes—often inadvertently—treat women differently from men students in ways that may lead women to lose confidence, lower their academic goals, and limit their career choices. These differences notwithstanding, the classroom may be somewhat **more** egalitarian than other college settings: In the classroom, there is an immediate task at hand; there are usually at least **overt** criteria for treating students fairly and similarly; the "rules" of interaction are more formalized and explicit than in less organized settings. Outside the classroom, however, there is often more leeway for differential treatment by faculty, peers and others: more segregation by race and by sex; more invoking of gender as a mark of difference and deficiency; more overt exclusion and sometimes even hostility. Indeed, though faculty, staff and students of both sexes want to be fair, and believe that they are, sex-based expectations, roles and "rules" often determine how students are actually treated.

Supportive out-of-class relationships with **faculty and administrators** can play a crucial role in increasing students' self-esteem and self-confidence—especially for women students.[9] Indeed, a recent national study underscores the importance of extracurricular activities for women, and emphasizes that faculty members who take time to socialize with their women students may help them to overcome doubts about their own intellectual competence and thus develop greater self-esteem.[10] Unfortunately, however, many studies also show that women students generally get **less** attention from faculty and others outside the classroom, and **less** informal feedback than do men.[11] This problem is exacerbated by the small number of women in senior faculty positions and administrative posts.

Additionally, interaction with **male classmates**—whether in labs, work groups, residence halls, formal extracurricular activities or purely social settings—affects women students. The quality of these interchanges can signal acceptance of women as true peers and potential partners in the wider professional world beyond the institution—or communicate that women are viewed not as intellectual equals, but primarily as dates and campus decorations. Too often, whether by omission or commission, colleges and universities inadvertently support an environment that encourages male students to respond to women in disheartening ways. The very campus environment that should be supportive for all students sometimes has the opposite effect on half the campus population.

This paper does not focus on policies and programs, but rather on many common campus experiences: how women are frequently treated in their relationships with faculty, administrators, staff and male peers in a variety of campus situations and settings **outside** the classroom. It highlights problems in the following areas: admissions and financial aid; academic advising and career counseling; projects with other students and with faculty; lab and field work; work study and campus employment; internships; health care; campus safety; residential, social and cultural life; athletics; and student government and leadership. Climate problems frequently experienced by women from special groups are also discussed.

Information for this paper has been compiled from several kinds of sources, including empirical studies of postsecondary students; reports and surveys by individual researchers, campus groups, and postsecondary institutions; and individual responses to a "Call for Information" issued in conjunction with this project. (The examples quoted or described are actual incidents that have occurred on campuses within the last few years.) Since interchanges that occur in the college context are in some respects similar to the everyday interactions that occur between and among men and women in the larger society, information from the growing body of general research on men's and women's verbal and nonverbal behavior has

* Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 prohibits sex discrimination in federally assisted education programs and activities. (In some instances, single-sex programs to remedy the effects of past discrimination are permitted under the law.)

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also been reviewed for possible implications for campus climate.

This paper draws freely on the earlier report, *The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women?* because much of the background and many of the general types of behaviors identified there are also important for understanding the nature and impact of differential treatment in the wider campus setting. Like that report, this paper offers numerous specific recommendations for evaluation and change; additionally, it includes an institutional self-evaluation checklist.

EVALUATION, DEVALUATION AND THE OUT-OF-CLASS CLIMATE

> ***"Most harassment I get is not sexual. It is that my fellow students, who are guys, don't take my degree work seriously. I have to 'prove' I'm serious about the degree to most profs."****

The old saw that "a woman must be twice as good to get half as far as a man" still contains a core of truth: In our society men are, in many ways, valued more than women, and men's work and words are assumed to be important, women's less so.

The general tendency to devalue women and their work is illustrated by a series of similar studies in which two groups of people were asked to evaluate particular items, such as articles, paintings, or resumes. The names attached to the items were clearly either male or female, but reversed for each group of evaluators—that is, what one group believed was written or painted by a man, the other believed was written or painted by a woman. Regardless of the items, when they were ascribed to a man they were rated higher than when they were ascribed to a woman. In many of these studies, women evaluators were as likely as men to downgrade those items ascribed to women.[12]

Indeed, our culture perceives and evaluates people largely on the basis of sex. Women are often seen not only as **different** but also as **deficient.** As numerous studies show, we tend to:

- attribute more importance to work done by men than identical work done by women, rate it more highly, and pay more for it;
- accept male behavior as the norm;
- expect and perpetuate "dominant" communication styles from men, but "submissive" ones from women; and
- view men as individuals who are active achievers with academic and career success as a primary aim, but women as members of a subordinate group who are identified primarily as wives, girlfriends, mothers and daughters.[13]

The campus community is by no means immune from these limiting preconceptions—or from the wide range of everyday behaviors by which they are reinforced and expressed.

For example, faculty and staff often view traditionally male patterns of college attendance and professional development as the valued—if not the **only**—norm. Thus, women who interrupt their academic careers to marry and have children or who enroll on a part-time basis may be perceived and treated as if they are less serious and committed than men who attend full-time. Moreover, the increasing number of women who **do** follow the same patterns as men may still find that their competence, commitment and qualifications are systematically doubted because of preconceptions about their abilities and appropriate roles. The all-too-frequent result is that too many women are subtly or overtly advised to lower their academic sights ("Why not stop with an MA? A pretty girl like you will certainly get married!") and to limit their career goals to a small number of "less demanding," flexible, traditionally female fields.

Moreover, in part because of this devaluation and in part because people often feel most comfortable with those most like themselves, senior faculty and administrators—who are predominantly male—may spend less time with women, offer them less encouragement than men, and may even avoid women in purely informal settings such as rap sessions and social functions. Indeed, insufficient informal guidance is a significant factor in some women undergraduate's lack of realistic career planning, avoidance of nontraditional fields and lack of confidence about their potential academic and career success. It has also been cited as especially damaging for women graduate students, who are at a crucial transition point for developing a professional identity.[14]

Women are often perceived and treated differently not only by faculty and professional staff, but also by their peers. For example, women students often complain of being relegated to the status of note-takers rather than participants when on assigned lab teams; being excluded from purely informal work groups; and frequently being viewed primarily as potential dates—or objects of sexist humor—rather than as co-learners. Faculty and staff may unknowingly encourage these kinds of behaviors.

Additionally, some women's responses to a variety of campus situations, including the expectable stress of academic life, are often viewed by male peers and others as a sign of deficiency, while men's responses are seen as "normal." For example, a woman student who "breaks down and cries" because of academic pressures is likely to be seen as "unstable"; however, a male student who, for the same reason, "goes out and gets drunk" is simply "blowing off steam." The man is welcomed back as "one of the guys," the woman—avoided—or advised to "get out of the kitchen if she can't take the heat."

While this kind of interaction does not happen all the time or in every institution, it occurs often enough to constitute a pattern. Although the climate may vary from institution to institution, the hidden or not-so-hidden message women too often receive from faculty, staff and

* Unless otherwise noted, asterisked quotes from women students are drawn from a variety of institutional reports and surveys, including the following: "Sexism on Campus: Fact or Fiction? A Survey of Negative Incidents Experienced by Women Students at Michigan State University," The Women's Advisory Committee to the Vice President for Student Affairs and Services, 1981; "Barriers to Equality in Academia: Women in Computer Science at MIT," MIT Computer Science Female Graduate Students and Research Staff, February, 1983; and Women Students' Coalition, "The Quality of Women's Education at Harvard University," June 1980.

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fellow students is that they are not on the same level as their male peers, and are "outsiders" on campus. Because these messages seem so "normal," they may be almost invisible to those who send and those who receive them; however, women's ambitions and self-confidence may suffer. Indeed, if, as much research indicates, women internalize this devaluation,[15] they are likely to be especially prone to doubt their own competence and ability, and to experience intensified conflict between academic and career aspirations on the one hand, and traditional female roles on the other.

Consequently, women students may particularly benefit from a campus climate that specifically acknowledges them as individuals and recognizes their abilities, contributions and accomplishments. However, what they too often find both within and outside the classroom is a climate that overtly and subtly reinforces society's traditionally limited views of women through a wide variety of differential behaviors.

Everyday Inequities In The Campus Environment[16]

Small behaviors that often occur in the course of everyday interchanges—such as those in which individuals are either **singled out,** or **ignored** and **discounted** because of sex, race or age—have been called "micro-inequities." Each instance—such as a disparaging comment or an oversight which affects only members of a given group—may in and of itself seem trivial, and may even go unnoticed. However, when taken together throughout the experience of an individual, these small differences in treatment can create an environment which "maintain[s] unequal opportunity, because they are the air we breathe . . . and because we cannot change the personal characteristic . . . that leads to the inequity."[17]

Such "everyday inequities" can intrude into the postsecondary setting, and can "foul the proces[s] of education."[18] A recent analysis which examined types of incidents women in postsecondary education consider discriminatory, found that contrary to the expectation that most reported incidents "would involve direct and overt discrimination . . . an equal or greater number concerned **subtle** forms of discrimination, which the women involved found as trying and inequitable in their own way as more outrageous or overt discrimination."[19] In fact, subtle and/or inadvertent incidents can sometimes do the **most** damage because they often occur without the full awareness of those involved.

A variety of verbal and nonverbal behaviors, both overt and subtle, can communicate to women that they are not on a par with men; are not to be taken seriously; are viewed not as individuals but rather as members of a second-class group; do not need and will not use a college education or advanced degree. Many of these behaviors will be discussed more specifically in relation to different college settings. The general behaviors themselves are discussed in greater detail in the earlier report, *The Classroom Climate*, which includes a detailed list of references.

General Behaviors That Single Out Women

Typically, the more **overt** behaviors **single out** women because of their sex. These behaviors are often intentional—although those who engage in them may be unaware of their potential to do real harm. They include behaviors such as the following:

- **disparaging women in general, women's intellectual abilities or women's professional potential;**
- **focusing attention on women's appearance or women's personal or family life as opposed to their performance;**
- **using sexist humor;**
- **grouping students by sex in a way which implies that women are not as competent or do not have status equal to men** (as in campus employment, lab or field work);
- **counseling women to lower their academic and career goals;**
- **engaging in verbal or physical sexual harassment[20];** and
- **making disparaging comments about lesbians, or using lesbianism as a label by which to accuse or threaten women.**

General Behaviors That Overlook Women

Subtle behaviors are both more prevalent and more problematic than those of an overtly discriminatory nature. They are **often inadvertent,** sometimes even well-intentioned, and often seem so "normal" in the course of everyday interaction between men and women as to be virtually invisible. Their very invisibility, however, adds to the problem. Without knowing precisely why, women who encounter subtle differential treatment of the following kinds often feel **overlooked, ignored** and **discounted**—relegated to the status of observers rather than full participants:

- **giving women less time and attention than men in both structured and informal out-of-class settings,** such as advising, work groups, rap sessions and social events;
- **paying less serious and active attention to women than to men, as indicated by behaviors such as:**
  - **frequently interrupting women;**
  - **giving minimal responses to, or ignoring entirely, women's questions and comments, but responding to and developing those of men;**
  - **seeking opinions, comments and suggestions from men more often than from women;**
  - **crediting comments and ideas to men, but not to women** (e.g., "As Bill said . . . ");
  - **adopting a posture of inattentiveness** (e.g., lack of eye contact, shuffling papers, etc.) **when talking with women, but the opposite** (making eye contact, leaning forward) **when talking with men;**
- **responding with surprise and doubt when women—but not men—express demanding career goals;**
- **treating women in an overprotective or patronizing manner which implies that women are not competent to cope on their own.** As one woman explains, "It seems like all I have to do is ask one simple question and the people I work with try to take over my entire research problem and solve it for me. I think they're trying to be helpful, but it doesn't help me if I'm never allowed the chance to do my own project";

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- **addressing women with terms of endearment such as "honey," "sweetie," etc., or referring to them as "girls."** Such language from faculty and staff often makes women uncomfortable, since it focuses on sexual role rather than academic competence, and also equates them with children who are not taken quite seriously;
- **using the generic "he," masculine examples, and other forms of language which exclude women;** and
- **basing evaluation of a student on the "masculine" or "feminine" style of the student's communication patterns** (see the following discussion).

Men's And Women's Communication Patterns: Mixed Signals[21]

> ***"In an interview with a faculty member about research the following gestures made by me were interpreted as "come-ons": (1) looking him directly in the eyes, (2) smiling while talking to him, and (3) leaning back in my chair."[22]***
>
> ***"I've done everything I can to be taken seriously here. I never wear make-up, I never wear feminine clothes—in fact, I do everything I can to avoid looking attractive, but I'm still treated like a girl."[23]***

Differences between men's and women's communication styles may also contribute to a chilly climate. Styles of speaking and behavior associated more often with men (and more highly valued), especially in the postsecondary setting, include elements such as:

- **highly assertive speech;**
- **impersonal and abstract styles, with limited self-disclosure;**
- **competitive, "devil's advocate" interchanges;**
- **interruption of other speakers, especially women;**
- **control of the topic of conversation;**
- **physical gestures that express comfortableness, dominance and control**—such as gesticulating to emphasize comments, moving in and taking over "shared" equipment; touching.

Women, on the other hand, more often exhibit "submissive" styles associated with low status, including "overly polite" and "hesitant" behaviors such as:

- **less assertive speech characterized by features like false starts** ("I think . . . I was wondering . . . "); **high pitch; tag questions** ("We should go back to the dorm first, don't you think?); **a questioning intonation in making a statement, and excessive use of qualifiers** ("I think that maybe sometimes . . . ");
- **more personal styles with a good deal of self disclosure;**
- **"inappropriate" smiling** (smiling when making a statement or asking a question); and
- **averting their eyes, especially when dealing with men and with those in positions of authority, or making direct eye-contact for longer periods than men do.**

Additionally, women are more apt to do the "interaction work" in conversation—to encourage other speakers and to keep the conversation going, even when this makes it more difficult for their own points to be heard and their own views acknowledged.

As in other instances, these and similar communication styles that are different from the usual male behaviors tend to be misinterpreted and/or devalued, often by **women** as well as by men. They may lead others on campus to perceive women students as uncertain, less competent, less committed, and perhaps flirtatious. (Indeed, simple friendliness on the part of women may be misinterpreted as a sexual overture.)

Some argue that women students would do best to adopt a "masculine" style in order to "be taken seriously" and to avoid being perceived as "coming on" to men. Others point out that women who do so are apt to be viewed as "aggressive" or "bitchy" rather than assertive, simply because their ways of talking and acting do not conform to "feminine" expectations. Indeed, women students often find themselves in a "double-bind": viewed as frivolous if they dress, talk or act "like a woman," but rejected as "hostile," a "libber" or a "manhater" if they don't.

The Effects Of A Chilly Campus Climate

> ***"The criticism [of my work] was clear. How to improve my analysis was not. The tutoring I needed occurred for others in this professor's office. Nonverbal messages, however, indicated to me that I was not welcome to participate in this activity."[33]***
>
> ***"Whereas sexism at the undergraduate level delivers a message that some women students may hear as 'You don't belong here,' in graduate and professional education this message is much more likely to be heard as: 'You will never be one of us.' "[34]***

When women are treated differently, they may be discouraged from seeking help with academic concerns, making the best use of student services, and participating fully in campus life. They may miss out on guidance and opportunities which are ostensibly available to all students—but may in fact be much more available to and supportive of men. A chilly out-of-class climate may:

- **make women's meetings with advisers, career counselors and others less helpful than the same sessions for men[35] and sometimes even counterproductive;**
- **diminish the opportunity to gain "hands-on," work group and leadership experiences, all shown to be especially important for women;[36]** and
- **provoke feelings of helplessness and alienation, especially when there are no channels for discussion and no appropriate actions or remedies available.**

These effects may be further exacerbated by the tendency of some women to undervalue their own needs. Men students often view consultations with academic advisers and staff as services to which they are entitled; however, women may feel they are "imposing" on faculty or staff and "taking up too much of their time." Indeed, men may begin consultations with little forethought, while women often feel they must be certain of their direction and have specific questions in order to merit attention. The same attitudes may carry over into extra-curricular activities: men

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may more confidently participate and take charge regardless of their qualifications, while women may hesitate unless they are convinced they can make a substantial contribution.

SUPPORT SERVICES, EMPLOYMENT AND COURSE-RELATED EXPERIENCES

Institutions clearly want to provide support services and out-of-class experiences fairly. However, the attitudes and behaviors of faculty, student services staff, other campus employees and student peers frequently determine how well—or how poorly—women students are served.

Moreover, the way faculty and staff treat their **own** colleagues who are women, minority group members, or members of other special populations has a significant impact on the messages **all** students receive about their relative worth, competence and potential.

The following discussion focuses on several academic and support services of particular importance to women, as well as less formal arrangements closely tied to course requirements—such as lab and field work and joint projects with faculty and other students. The general attitudes and behaviors already identified as discouraging to women emerge in these settings in a variety of ways.

Admissions And Financial Aid

The way women are treated in the admissions and financial aid process sets the tone for their participation both within and beyond the institution. Yet, at both the undergraduate and graduate levels, students too often encounter personnel who may unwittingly communicate limited or outmoded preconceptions about women—and men—students. Admissions staff, for example, may inadvertently lead women to doubt their goals and question their potential; financial aid officers may see women's need for aid as less important than men's. The latter problem is particularly unfortunate, not only because of its economic implications,[27] but also because receipt of aid has been shown to be closely connected with women students' intellectual self-esteem and academic persistence.[28]

Women may be treated differently than men by admissions staff and financial aid officers in numerous ways, such as the following:

- **questioning women, but not men, about their seriousness or purpose** ("Why would you want to major in physics?");
- **asking women, but not men, questions related to their actual or potential marital or parental status** ("How will you handle your family if you're a doctor?");
- **treating women who are married, have children and/or will attend part-time as having less potential than other applicants** or as encumbrances on the institution because they may need support services, such as re-entry counseling;
- **inappropriately focusing on appearance in evaluating women but not men.** One admissions officer, for example, reportedly wrote to a prospective student: "I'm so happy to admit you. You're one of the loveliest additions our campus has had in recent years."[29]
- **assuming that men have greater need of educational credentials and therefore of aid;**
- **favoring married men over married women on the presumption that a woman needs less help because her husband will support her;**
- **offering women and men with dependent children different amounts of aid because of sex-based assumptions that men shoulder more of the family costs;**
- **approaching the issue of marital, family and financial arrangements with little sensitivity to lesbian and gay students;**
- **denying or limiting aid to part-time students (many of whom are women who may also have job and family responsibilities);**
- **less often encouraging or nominating women to apply for prestigious national scholarships, fellowships, awards and prizes;**[30] and
- **failing to ensure that students of *both* sexes are adequately helped to estimate their level of need and apprised of the importance of a strong application.** (Women, generally socialized to be modest about their achievements and abilities, may be much less comfortable than men in describing their strengths on admissions and financial aid applications.)

Academic Advising And Career Counseling*

> ***"While it is relatively easy . . . to eliminate sex bias in career and testing materials or to hire more female staff, it is quite a different matter to influence the subtleties of interpersonal communications as they occur in the counseling relationship."***[31]
>
> ***A woman graduate student's discussion with her adviser came to an abrupt halt when interrupted by a male student trying to set up a tennis match. "During this 15-minute episode," she says, "I was not invited to join them, nor was my presence in the room even noted. From the status of the competent colleague, I had tumbled to the status of a chair. The time scheduled for my appointment was over. Half had been wasted."***[32]

Studies show counselors' attitudes toward women "may not differ substantially from the general population['s]" limited views and indicate that while female counselors are becoming more accepting of choices that depart from conventional views of women and work, "a corresponding change in the attitudes of male counselors has not been found."[33] Ironically, these misperceptions persist even though most women will now work most of their adult lives, and there is an increasing convergence of women's and men's educational patterns and career goals.[34]

Counselors and academic advisers alike may overtly or

* This paper does not cover psychological counseling services. Readers may wish to contact task forces on women at the International Association of Counseling Services, 5999 Stevenson Ave., Alexandria, VA 22304 and the Association of University Counseling Center Directors, Counseling Center, University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point, WI 54481.

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subtly discourage many women by:

- **counseling students in accord with stereotypical ideas of "male" and "female" majors and careers,** for example, by guiding women but not men toward lower terminal degrees, easier subspecialties, and fields that are seen as "appropriate" for women. ("Pediatrics is a terrific field for women.") Whether done overtly or subtly, this communicates to women that they are not expected to compete and succeed at the same level as men;
- **responding differently to students' short and long term goals primarily on the basis of the students' sex,** for example, by routinely encouraging men to prepare for graduate or professional school but not doing so for women, or by negatively approaching women's need for longterm planning ("Well, you'll quit work when you marry.");
- **viewing marriage and family as negative for women, but as an advantage—a stabilizing factor and symbol of maturity—for men.** How a **career** affects men's **family** relationships is rarely considered. Both men and women need to be made aware of options for balancing career and family responsibilities;
- **subtly indicating that women advisees are not taken as seriously as men by behaviors such as:**
  - **spending less time with women than with men or allowing interruption of women's appointments for non-essential matters;**
  - **remembering the names of men but not of women;**
  - **remembering the work done and career plans previously discussed by male but not female advisees;**
  - **taking notes about what a male student says but being inattentive (such as shuffling papers) when talking to women;**
  - **turning a discussion of a woman's work into a discussion of her appearance;**
- **providing realistic feedback—negative as well as positive—to men, but not to women.** Many advisers and counselors—especially men—may find it difficult to criticize women's work directly; consequently, women may less often be told what they must do to improve their performance, or to meet requirements for advanced work;
- **acting in ways that are patronizing to women,** for example by presuming that women know nothing about a particular major or field, and launching into a "beginner's discussion" without first determing what the woman **does** know and what she needs to find out;
- **presuming that men who are direct and assertive in manner are more knowledgeable, self-directed and goal-oriented than women whose manner may be more polite or less self-confident;**
- **discussing one's own work with men but not with women.** Such discussions help students get a sense of themselves as future professionals;
- **getting to know men advisees informally, but confining conversations with women to required meetings;**
- **suggesting that men broaden their academic focus to give them greater flexibility in the job market, but neglecting to do so for women;** and
- **creating an office environment that is uncomfortable for or demeaning to women.** For example, some women students have been unnerved by *Playboy* centerfolds and other "decorations" in advisors' offices.*

Projects With Other Students And With Faculty

> ***"When it came to forming serious collegial relationships, coauthoring papers, invitations to closed seminars, and any other activity conferring academic prestige, my male peers sought out other men. Men who I thought were my friends, who had read and respected my work, were suddenly inaccessible to me for serious collaboration."****
>
> ***"I have been excluded from discussions. I even had two people with whom I was having a meeting pull their chairs together and start talking to each other as if they'd forgotten I was in the room."****

When students work together it can signal acceptance by peers and also give participants an academic "edge"—as in the case of study groups in which each student researches and shares information about a portion of a complex assignment. When undergraduates work individually with professors—as in independent study projects—it can help students feel specifically recognized, stretch them intellectually, and increase their commitment. And when graduate students work closely with faculty members and advisers, their collaboration can not only foster substantive mastery, but also help the junior person in the transition from student to colleague by facilitating socialization into the profession and learning its "unwritten rules."

However, women often miss out on many of these benefits. Students often choose those they work and talk with in purely informal ways, largely based on familiarity, sameness, and social valuation. Professors, too, may find the quality of their relationships with students largely determined by this kind of "compatibility." While some few faculty and students still openly disdain working with women ("What am I going to do? This is an important course and my teaching assistant is a girl!"*), others ignore women in more subtle ways or treat them as less-than-equal partners.

Whether overt or subtle, behaviors of the following kinds can be quite discouraging for women:

- **Male students may often exclude women from informal study groups and project teams on both the undergraduate and graduate level, especially in nontraditional fields and in professional schools.**
- **Women may be less likely to be treated as leaders and more apt to be given less demanding roles, such as writing up results rather than being asked to do original research or offer substantive critiques.**
- **Faculty may be less willing to work with women than with men on independent study projects** because they see women as having less potential, and/or are uncomfortable working with women.
- **Faculty may be more likely to choose men than**

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women as research or teaching assistants, or to give women assistants fewer independent responsibilities than men doing comparable work.

- **Faculty may be less likely to invite women graduate students to share research, publishing, and conference presentations, or to meet outside experts in the field, as well as to involve them in purely informal activities.**
- **Faculty may discourage women from working on topics or issues involving or affecting women, and downgrade or limit the value of this research,** thus communicating that issues dealing with women are less important than other issues.

Lab And Field Work

Ideally, lab and field work build skills that complement what the student learns from reading and discussion, and give the student "hands-on" experience. Too often, however, women's actual experiences in these areas serve to undermine, rather than enhance, the very competencies they are designed to foster. Women are all-too-frequently discouraged by behaviors such as the following:

- **Faculty may actively discourage women from participating in field work because they are "too much trouble" to "take along."**
- **Male peers—and faculty—may indirectly disparage women's abilities.** One lone woman student, for example, reports that when an experiment failed, her lab team, as a "joke,"[35] wrote her name on the lab report's "reason for error" line.
- **When students work in pairs, faculty may justify grouping women together "so they don't slow down the men," or pairing women with men "so the men can show them what to do."** In either case, justifications of this kind give women the message that they are not expected to be as adept as their male classmates. Faculty wanting to help inexperienced students (female and male) can devise a method to assess just who needs help, and then group students accordingly.
- **Faculty or research assistants may dismiss women's questions, but take the time to answer men's.**
- **Male peers may deny women access to lab equipment.** One woman student, for example, reports that as the only woman member of an otherwise all-male lab team, she was "never allowed to touch anything and only got to take notes";[36] another that a male student would physically push her away from the machine her team was sharing, but never did so to male students.*
- **Women may be subjected to overt sexist and general harassment behavior by faculty and fellow students.**
  - **Lab and field projects are often the setting for sexual harassment, sometimes by the research or teaching assistant in charge.** In some instances, women have been sufficiently intimidated to avoid labs in the evenings unless accompanied by other women students.
  - **Women in computer science have complained about obscene messages sent to them through the system.** One complaint involved a graphic of a naked woman used to demonstrate the computer's graphics capacity.*
  - **Women may find that male peers intentionally attempt to disrupt their work, as in the case of a woman whose lab equipment was repetitively decalibrated.[37]**
- **Women may be treated like "dates" rather than colleagues,** as when a woman, much to her surprise, heard herself described as the "territory" of her male field-work partner,* and
- **Women may be less likely than men to have the opportunity to pursue their own research, and more likely to work on the professor's project.**

Work-Study And Campus Employment

> ***"You want to do research? Let me see what I can do . . . this paper needs proofreading."****
>
> ***"During an interview for a job [at a university], the director seemed to think men would do a better job in this position. His personal feelings interfered with what should have been an unbiased decision."****

Women students who hold campus jobs are frequently treated differently from men by faculty, other supervisors, and co-workers.[38] Indeed, some faculty publicly contend that the workplace is "full of discrimination, and women might as well get used to it."[39] Thus, they help perpetuate a workplace defined by bias when those in positions of authority on campus treat women in unfair and demeaning ways, they teach **both** men and women students that it is acceptable to do so. Women students report problems like the following:

- **Supervisors may not consider women for jobs in traditionally male categories,** such as that of groundskeeper **or may discourage women from applying for any position if they themselves are uncomfortable working with women.** Women may thus be excluded from many jobs including those that coincide with their academic interests and abilities.[40]
- **Staff may steer women toward traditionally female positions,** such as secretary, thereby reinforcing the idea that sex, not ability, determines appropriate job placement.
- **Supervisors may give women lower level assignments than men workers of equal experience and ability.**
- **Staff, supervisors, and male peers may treat women differently from men even when both hold positions that are ostensibly the same,** as when a woman graduate assistant is treated not as a colleague but as "just another secretary."
- **Co-workers and others may subject women to harassment ranging from derogatory comments about women in general to harassment of a sexual nature,** such as remarks about women's anatomy and unwanted touching. This is more likely to occur when the supervisor participates in or otherwise condones such behavior.

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Internships

> *"Where placements in internships are made, male students are given more preferable placements than are equally or more qualified women. If not enough placements, women are placed last; given lower-paying placements; or promised placements which do not materialize .... Married female students are not placed."*[41]

Unlike work-study, which is part of a financial aid package, and campus employment, which is often a "stop-gap" job to make ends meet, internships are designed specifically to foster students' knowledge and experience in potential career areas. However, women may face the following barriers:

- **Women may not be informed about or encouraged to pursue all appropriate internship possibilities,** especially when faculty and others rely on informal methods and an "old boy" network to let students know about internship opportunities.
- **Women may not be as likely as men to be mentored by organizational sponsors, particularly if there is no stated provision for mentoring in internship agreements.**[42]
- **Women interns may be more likely than men to be assigned tasks requiring limited ability, and less likely to be given an overview of the organization in which they are working.**
- **Women may be treated differently by faculty acting as internship liaisons.** Women interns working with one faculty coordinator, for example, reported that he treated them—but not male interns—in a patronizing and impatient manner, and "bawled them out" over minor matters as if they were children.

Health Care[43]

The availability of appropriate health services such as gynecological care, rape treatment, and birth control information is just a starting point. Health care staff should avoid behaviors such as the following that can discourage women from using health services:

- **automatically attributing women's concerns to "nervousness" or "emotional problems"** and thus, for example, routinely prescribing tranquilizers for women when they would not be prescribed for men;
- **providing information on contraception or abortion, or treatment for venereal disease, in a derisive or moralistic way;**
- **treating women in a patronizing manner** ("Don't you worry your pretty little head about it.");
- **responding to rape victims as if they were to blame for the assault;**
- **allowing stereotyped attitudes about sex—"appropriate" traits and behaviors as well as conventional attitudes about sexual preference—to shape treatment strategies and communicate approval or disapproval;** and
- **sexually harassing women.** Several instances have been reported in which women students have refused to use college health clinics because of harassment by physicians and other staff.

Campus Safety

Safety has become an increasing concern on many campuses. Shuttle buses, escort services, buddy systems and other services are often available to students, many especially geared to women who use library, laboratory, computer and other facilities at night. However, campus safety personnel may inadvertently discourage women from using these services and seeking necessary help in a variety of ways such as:

- **making light of women's hesitance to use college facilities or attend college functions at night;**
- **trivializing women's concerns when they report feeling threatened by dates or male classmates;**[44]
- **taking a "boys-will-be-boys" attitude when male students, including members of fraternities, harass, frighten or threaten women;**
- **blaming women for instances of harassment or rape,** either directly, or by commenting negatively on the circumstances and/or a woman's appearance; and
- **responding to concerns raised by lesbian or gay students differently than to similar concerns raised by other students.**

RESIDENTIAL, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CLIMATE: A REEVALUATION

General Climate

As is the case with student services, colleges and universities across the country are examining the quality of residential, social and cultural life to see how well existing arrangements serve an increasingly diverse student population. Many campuses have begun to restructure residential systems away from the "anonymous dormitories" of the 60's and 70's and to diversify social and cultural offerings in order to increase faculty-student contact and to facilitate positive interchange between students from different backgrounds.[45]

Of particular concern to many institutions is the role of the Greek system in shaping the general campus climate, especially at small colleges or institutions in small towns where alternative settings for social events are limited. Several colleges have concluded that fraternities, in particular, often build a bond among their own members largely by creating a divisive environment in the wider community that promotes exclusion and differential treatment based on class, race and especially on sex.[46] Indeed, some fraternities have been called to task for "promoting sexist attitudes—actual harassment of women and, more generally, distrust between men and women."[47] Sororities, too, may perpetuate a limited view of women and create divisiveness by choosing members largely on the basis of appearance, playing a "little sister" role in relation to fraternities, and generally reinforcing stereotyped gender roles.

These and other aspects of day-to-day life on campus can lead women to question their role in the college community. Women students may feel like interlopers on "male turf" when incidents and omissions like the following are commonplace, and/or tolerated by students, faculty and administrators when they do occur:

- **"Petty" hostility toward women under the guise of "fun" is routinely expressed in social and residential**

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settings—such as pouring drinks on women, beating women with celery sticks, or razzing women as they enter dining halls or lounges.

- **Women are expected to perform stereotypically "feminine" roles in conjunction with social events and cooperative housing arrangements—such as preparing food and cleaning up—while men make tapes, provide entertainment or do maintenance work.**
- **Men dominate co-educational living units, by, for example, harassing women, creating a "locker room atmosphere," or loudly disrupting the floors at night.**
- **Residence hall advisers do not respond in a serious manner to dormitory climate and related concerns raised by women and/or do not refer women to campus services that can deal with their concerns.**
- **Housing options for women are more limited than those for men, or are subject to institutional control while men's are not.** If, for example, fraternities manage themselves but sororities are required to have house mothers, women are treated as children while men are treated as adults.
- **Lesbian students are precluded from participating in campus functions, such as dance-a-thons, made to feel unwelcome in student organizations, and are generally harassed.**
- **Typical social activities and campus media demean women**—as, for example, wet T-shirt contests, X-rated movies as fundraisers, or sexist articles and ads (such as a bikinied female torso surrounded by male heads and hands as an ad for a spring break trip[48]) in the student newspaper or the college yearbook.
- **Fraternities sponsor events which result in the harassment and degradation of women, or define women as sexual objects.** On one Ivy League campus, for example, a recent fraternity "scavenger hunt" list included "xerox copies of female genitalia," "[X College] girls (brought willingly)," "women's underwear and related objects," each of which was assigned a "point value." [49]
- **Incidents of sexual harassment by students, date rape or gang rape are treated with a "blame the victim" or "boys-will-be-boys" attitude, and there is no appropriate or effective means of recourse for the victims.** (On one campus, for example, male students accused of rape were "punished" by being required to take a course in women's studies.)[50]
- **Faculty, staff and others in positions of authority who have sexually harassed students are not appropriately punished and/or such incidents are treated lightly by others on campus.** In one instance, for example, a tenured faculty member involved in sexually harassing several students arranged a quiet settlement through which the institution bought out his contract for $50,000. When word leaked out, the "in joke" among some male faculty became, "If you get $50,000 for sexual harassment, how much do you get for rape?"[51]

Women may also feel like second-class citizens when campus women's organizations and activities are discounted in ways such as the following:

- **Representatives of women's groups have little access to and/or no real input in dealing with top administrators on campus.**
- **Women students' organizations and activities receive little or no institutional support in the form of office space, funding, etc., or are offered space and support that identifies them with "fringe" organizations on campus.**
- **Activities sponsored by women students' organizations—such as lectures, workshops, films, or women's week activities—are avoided or belittled by faculty, staff and students.**
- **Women's concerns, women speakers and works dealing with women are omitted from university-sponsored cultural events,** such as lecture series, art exhibits, and film series, or are seen as "controversial" or treated with ridicule.
- **Women's studies programs and courses are disparaged.**
- **Women are rarely, if ever, awarded honorary degrees, chosen as commencement speakers, or named to prestigious chairs.**
- **There is no women's center—or the women's center is underfunded, understaffed and isolated from mainstream institutional services.**

Athletics[52]

Physical activity—whether jogging or gymnastics, hockey or hiking—can have a substantial impact on women's sense of self-confidence and mastery. Additionally, participation in team sports can build group skills, such as strategy development and leadership, and can also foster the capacity to respond to losing without a debilitating sense of personal failure.

Until fairly recently, however, women were all but excluded from serious athletic participation. Women were not expected to be interested in sports, and those who did show an interest or who joined a team were frequently discouraged from anything so "unfeminine." It is beyond the scope of this paper to detail the many inequities faced by women in sports. However, despite marked gains, women athletes often find their accomplishments are not taken seriously, and they themselves are subject to differential treatment of many kinds, such as the following:

- **Faculty, administrators, peers and others may use stereotypic labels—like "tomboy" or "girl jock"—when describing women athletes.**
- **Those on campus may respond with surprise, disdain or ridicule when women express an interest in athletics.**
- **Female athletes' accomplishments may go unnoticed, while men's are the focus of discussion and praise.** Campus publicity—both promotional and post-event coverage—may be less for women's than for men's matches.
- **Faculty and student affairs personnel may suggest athletic participation to men, but not to women, as a form of recreation and an avenue for personal growth.**
- **Career counselors may provide information to men, but not to women, about opportunities involving athletics.**

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- **Accusations of lesbianism may be used to discourage women from participating in or coaching sports, especially when they attempt to speak up about inequities.[53]**
- **In coed recreational sports, men are likely to dominate.**

Student Government And Leadership

Campus leadership experiences can help build students' intellectual self-esteem and social self-confidence and also help develop specific skills, such as public speaking. These benefits may be even more pronounced for women than for men.[54] However, women may find attaining and succeeding in campus leadership positions fraught with difficulties of a kind men do not face; men still hold a disproportionate number of leadership positions on most campuses.[55]

Furthermore, although student leaders often work informally with senior faculty and top administrators—who, on most campuses are male—women may have difficulty penetrating the established "inner circle" and gaining real input in the decision-making process.[56]

Among the problems women may face are the following:

- **Women students may be less likely to be encouraged to seek leadership positions than men, and may need to have "extra" qualifications to be nominated, elected or appointed.**
- **Women who do hold such positions may find that their credentials are systematically doubted while men's tend to be presumed adequate.** For example, the woman head of a major student government office overseeing the budget for campus-wide activities at a large midwestern university was rumored to have "slept her way" into the position, was given no training and accorded no support. She soon resigned the post.[57]
- **Women may receive less mentoring, help and information so that they function less effectively.**
- **Women may hold top positions, but men of lower organizational status may dominate meetings and make policy decisions.** This may occur because of men's relatively greater social status and more dominant communication styles. In one instance, for example, the editor-in-chief and managing editor of a student newspaper were both women, but the male business and circulation managers verbally dominated meetings and pushed through policy decisions.[58]
- **Student leaders may be chosen on the basis of gender stereotypes,** as, for example, when men are customarily considered for positions requiring budgeting skills, women for those geared to social events.

GROUPS OF WOMEN WHO MAY BE ESPECIALLY AFFECTED

Minority Women

> ***"You're usually the only Black person in your class. There's no one here to relate to—that leaves you locked up in your room, watching TV, listening to your tapes and going home on weekends."[59]***

> ***"Why did we expect the Black students to share their feelings in a class where no one kidded around with them before class, or went to lunch with them after class, or had their telephone numbers to share notes and gossip?"[60]***
>
> ***"They [four Asian women students] were denied entry to graduate school in part for their lack of understanding of Western body language and lack of Western-style assertion in self-presentation."[61]***

Women minority students—and minority men as well—frequently find the general campus climate at predominantly white institutions **the** major barrier to intellectual and personal development and to the completion of degree work. Minority students who drop out or stop out are significantly more likely than whites to do so for **non-academic** reasons, and report much less informal interaction and encouragement from faculty and others than majority students.[62] Many cite a general academic, social and cultural climate that makes them feel like "unwelcome guests," and in which simply trying to survive from day to day uses up an inordinate amount of energy.[63] This problem may be eased—but also exacerbated—when minority students respond by forming their own organizations, establishing their own media, choosing to live in separate housing, and organizing special social and cultural events. While minority students often report gaining a supportive community through such efforts, white students—frequently unaware of how isolating the "normal" campus environment can be to those who are not members of the dominant group—sometimes respond negatively to what they perceive as "self-segregation" rather than the maintenance of ethnic identity and an opportunity for diversity.[64]

Within this conflicted situation, **women** minority students frequently encounter special problems. Minority women often face a kind of "double devaluation" as **women and as members of a minority group.** Often, they are expected to be either less competent than whites or "exceptions" to their own race and sex. They are even more likely than women in general to be channeled toward a limited number of majors and careers thought to be "appropriate"; indeed, a recurring complaint about advising for students of color involves "lack of support for students' interests and goals and insensitivity to them as individuals with particular cultural backgrounds."[65] Misconceptions because of cultural differences in verbal and nonverbal behavior[66] can further confuse and undermine interactions, as described below.

Women from some minority groups may be especially likely to be seen in terms of their sexuality, and this may either provoke sexual harassment or lead to a "keeping of distance"—especially by male faculty and student services staff.[67] Moreover, minority women frequently "fall between the cracks" of student services designed for **majority** women on the one hand, and **minority** men on the other.

The following kinds of behaviors, incidents and oversights indicate some of the sources of a chilly climate for minority women in out-of-classroom settings:

- **Faculty, staff and students may inadvertently exclude minority women from informal activites, and**

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may "keep them at a distance" in both structured and purely social settings by behaviors such as ignoring, avoiding eye contact, maintaining physical distance, interrupting, or talking in a patronizing tone.[69]

- **Racially stereotyped interpretations of minority women's own behavior may interfere with effective interaction,** as when the silence of a Black woman is perceived as "sullenness" but that of an Asian, Hispanic or Native American woman as "passivity."
- **Faculty, counselors and others may be less successful in working with minority women because of incorrect preconceptions about likely problems,[69] differences in value systems and divergent communication styles.** An Asian woman, for example, may feel it is "shameful" to verbalize accomplishments, make eye-contact, adopt a relaxed demeanor, and "impose" on the faculty by returning for additional consultations unless the adviser politely states that she is expected to do so.[70]
- **Academic advisers may underestimate the competence of minority women and counsel them to lower their sights.** One minority woman, for example, "wanted to major in one of the sciences in preparation for veterinary school. She went to see a major adviser who told her that veterinary science was a very difficult program and she should consider something less demanding, such as nursing. He said this without having seen her records or knowing anything about her past performance in school. While she was waiting, she saw white students being welcomed into the program rather than discouraged from pursuing their goals."[71]
- **Career counselors may misdirect minority women on the basis of racial stereotypes,** as when Asian American women are presumed best suited for mathematical and technical fields[72] or Hispanic women for service professions, such as health care.
- **Faculty may discourage minority women from choosing independent study projects, dissertation topics or other work that focuses on issues of special concern to minority women.**
- **Majority students may belittle ethnic studies, and avoid or ridicule campus events, publications, etc., sponsored by minority groups.**
- **Minority women may be substantially underrepresented in extracurricular activities, may not be encouraged to participate, and may be actively discouraged from joining some social groups, such as sororities.**
- **Minority women's "isolation" may be greatly exacerbated if there are few women of color on the faculty or staff who might serve as role models and mentors.**

Older Women[73]

Older women currently comprise the fastest-growing segment of the postsecondary population. However, like minority women, older women often suffer the results of compounded stereotypes. Whether they are entering college as first-year undergraduates, finishing a graduate degree, or pursuing graduate study, older women may be devalued not only because of their sex, but also because of their age and their likely part-time status. Too often, they are viewed as bored, middle-aged women who are returning to school because they have nothing better to do. This perception is much in contrast to the actual situation of many returning women, who tend to enroll in postsecondary programs for professional advancement and are often both highly motivated and highly successful in school.

Returning women often encounter both overt and subtle differential treatment of the kinds discussed previously. The following types of behaviors can be especially discouraging to women students who have been out of an academic context for a prolonged period:

- **adopting a patronizing tone in responding to comments or questions;**
- **suggesting that older women "should be home with their children," "don't need to work if they have a husband to support them," etc.;** and
- **making comments that disparage older women students, or that introduce inappropriately personal concerns.**

Moreover, some faculty, counselors and peers may be uncomfortable dealing with people older than they themselves are. This may contribute to older women students' being treated differently in consultations with faculty and staff, and excluded from informal interchanges.

Disabled Women[74]

> ***"I wound up in a dorm for disabled students because it was the only way I could get a single room. That meant learning to live with the kind of people around whom we've been taught to feel most uncomfortable."[75]***

Like minority women, disabled women often encounter double discrimination based both on their sex and on their disability, and must cope with even greater social and institutional "invisibility." This is especially true in the context of general campus activities as well as more structured out-of-class interactions. Largely because they may not understand disabled women's actual capabilities and needs, peers, faculty and student services personnel may be especially uncomfortable in dealing with these students on a one-to-one basis. Behavior patterns that can discourage disabled women may include:

- **overlooking and excluding disabled women from out-of-class interchanges;**
- **avoiding eye contact, maintaining excessive distance, ignoring, and engaging in other behaviors that indicate discomfort or dismissal;**
- **over-explaining, talking in a patronizing tone, treating the person like a child—as if physical disabilities imply mental limitations as well;**
- **talking overly loudly to a person who is visually impaired, or engaging in other behaviors which communicate that a person with a particular disability suffers impairment in all physical functions;**
- **presuming that disabled women need assistance in all areas, without first evaluating their actual capabilities to help them decide what they can do on their own, and then helping them devise ways to do so;**

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- **counseling disabled women toward a narrow range of majors and careers by focusing on the limitations imposed by their disability rather than on individual interests, aptitudes and coping strategies;**
- **presuming that disabled women are generally asexual, do not date, and will never assume marital or family roles or other longterm relationships; and**
- **making little or no effort to provide disabled women students with role models on campus or in the career arena.**

FACILITATING CHANGE

> ***"The women now reaching young adulthood are the first generation . . . to have spent all its conscious years in a social and educational climate that assumes a measure of equality for them, but as yet does little to support it."***[76]

Often there is little awareness about the kinds of everyday behaviors that create an inequitable campus environment for women—and for other nontraditional students as well. However, individuals and institutions can take many steps to increase awareness and facilitate change. Such efforts will benefit not only women, but all students on campus, by incorporating a respect for diversity into all aspects of institutional life, and by better preparing women and men students for the multiple roles they will assume in the wider world of work and family beyond the institution.

A variety of specific recommendations—many based on existing campus programs—follow. Institutions can adopt or adapt those most suitable for their own settings. While some are designed primarily for chief administrators, some for faculty, some for student services staff, and some for students themselves, many recommendations may be useful to all members of the academic community. The following section also includes a brief discussion of the unique role women's centers can play in improving the general climate for women on campus, and a self-evaluation checklist designed for institution-wide use.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Policy Recommendations For Administrators

- **Issue a policy statement which emphasizes the importance of an equitable climate for women.** Distribute the statement to faculty, student services staff and students, publish it in the student newspaper, the faculty bulletin, etc. Devise a procedure to inform new staff, faculty and students about this issue.
- **Establish a committee to explore and report on climate issues, and to make campus wide recommendations.**
- **Institute regular reviews of the campus climate for women via open hearings, interviews with student groups and randomly selected students, and written evaluations from interested students.**[77]
- **Commmunicate, through public speeches and personal behavior, that women are to be viewed, treated and evaluated as individuals, not stereotyped by group characteristics.**[78]
- **Designate a particular person to be responsible for institution-wide efforts to ensure an equitable climate for women and provide that person direct access to top administrators.**[79]
- **Ensure that all faculty and staff are informed of institutional commitment to providing an equitable campus climate.** Use workshops, seminars, or informal meetings, and, where possible, include student services and women's center staff.
- **Inform all contractors providing services to the institution about climate issues and include materials about this in the contract or in the general materials given to the contractor.**
- **Include climate issues in performance evaluations of faculty, academic advisers and staff, including receptionists and others who deal directly with students.**
- **Develop criteria about climate issues to be used in evaluating applicants for faculty, staff and assistantship positions.**
- **Enact a student code of non-academic conduct covering behavior outside as well as inside the classroom.**
- **Develop a policy which discourages sexual relations between faculty and students and which makes clear the conflict of interest and unethical aspects of such relationships.** Harvard University (MA) has issued such a policy.[80]
- **Institute a sexual harassment policy which includes a mechanism for airing concerns and providing feedback about overtly biased practices and comments, and which covers peer as well as student-faculty interactions.** Denison University (OH) has done so.
- **Adopt a non-sexist langauge policy to cover all written and verbal institutional communications.** The University of New Hampshire, Durham, has adopted such a policy and is now developing specific guidelines.
- **Recognize individuals and organizational units for exceptional progress in creating a positive climate for women in the same ways that outstanding performance in other areas is recognized.**[81]
- **Publish an annual report on progress in regard to institutional climate.**[82]
- **Provide materials about climate issues, such as this paper, to students, faculty and staff.**
- **Incorporate climate issues into faculty development programs, and training of teaching assistants and student services staff.**

General Institutional Recommendations

- **Develop, disseminate and discuss materials about subtle differential treatment of women.** The Office of Women's Affairs, University of Delaware, Newark developed "Seeing and Evaluating People," a booklet that summarizes research about perceptual bias affecting the evaluation of women. It has been used as

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the focus for discussions with groups of administrators and others.†

- **Design campus activities to address issues of subtle discrimination.** Sponsored by Red Rocks Community College, Denver (CO), "Uncommon Courtesy: Increasing Options for All People" included films, workshops, brown bag lunches, panels and other activities focused on male-female interaction.†
- **Form an information-sharing network with other institutions—both coeducational and single-sex—that are evaluating the campus climate for women.** Members of already-established corsortia might serve as a starting point.
- **Institute exit interviews for students switching majors, transferring or dropping out to determine if an inhospitable climate has been a significant contributing factor.**
- **Identify and implement conditions that will help all members of the campus community address climate issues.** At De Pauw University (IN), for example, gay and lesbian students were asked to write anonymous letters about what the campus climate is like for them. These were shared at a public forum.
- **Set up a committee composed of personnel from each of the student services, from academic advising and from women's organizations and centers in order to evaluate and coordinate services, develop materials and programs and train personnel concerning climate issues.**
- **Establish a system of regular contact between academic departments, student services and women's organizations and centers to discuss climate issues.** The University of Denver (CO), for example, has a Departmental Liaisons Program through which men and women faculty, undergraduate, graduate and staff representatives, as well as representatives from student services, meet quarterly with women's center staff to address general issues and highlight programs. †
- **Ensure that all faculty and staff, including teaching assistants and resident assistants, are aware of services available to women on campus and instructed to make appropriate referrals.**
- **Hold regular workshops to help women prepare for the content and climate challenges of graduate study.** "On Prospering in Graduate School," offered by the Women's Center at the University of California, Santa Barbara addresses a range of issues including how to gauge the supportiveness of faculty and advisers when evaluating different programs; how to handle differential treatment in male-dominated fields; and how to confront self-doubt in the academic arena.
- **Foster joint projects between women students and faculty.** The Center for the Study, Education and Advancement of Women, University of California, Berkeley sponsors an undergraduate research program which links students with faculty doing research in a variety of departments.
- **Promote activities in which students of both sexes and differing racial and ethnic groups can participate together and learn about each other.**
- **Review all extracurricular programming, awards and organizations to make certain that they meet the needs of women students.**
- **Distribute a list of services on campus relevant to women.** Many campuses have done this.

General Recommendations For Individuals

Women and men at all levels may want to reevaluate their own behavior with the following points in mind:

- **Recognize and change features of your own verbal and nonverbal styles that may discourage women in out-of-class settings.** For example, show attentiveness by making eye-contact, leaning forward, and nodding, etc., and help the student know her concerns are being seriously considered by not interrupting.
- **Balance more "masculine" skills of analyzing, clarifying, evaluating and controlling the flow of conversation with traditionally "female" skills of listening, reinforcing and facilitating other speakers' participation."**
- **Provide women, including minority women, with informal as well as formal feedback on their work.**
- **Avoid biased interpersonal behaviors with secretaries, colleagues and partners (such as calling women "honey," asking women to get coffee, or describing their actions as "typically female").** Such behaviors provide negative models for students and peers of both sexes."
- **In talking with students and colleagues, use language and examples which include both sexes in a variety of roles.**
- **Refrain from "invasion" of others' personal space, such as unwanted touching.**
- **Use humor that is not sexist in nature.**

Academic Advising And Career Counseling: Recommendations For Personnel And Programs

- **Use guidelines designed to foster gender-fair counseling.** (See "Resources," p. 18 for some examples.)
- **Avoid communicating sex-typed expectations regarding fields of study, co-curricular activities and careers.** Be alert not only to overt discouragement ("That field's too difficult for a woman") but also to more subtle behaviors, such as withholding approval, minimal attentiveness, or expressions of doubt unwarranted by the particular student's record.
- **Read biographical materials about women and minorities in diverse fields to gain an understanding of the differential treatment your advisees are likely to encounter.** At one institution, faculty in physics, geology and other natural and physical sciences read

†A more detailed description of this and other projects is contained in Karen Bogart, *Toward Equity: An Action Manual for Women in Academe*, 1984. (For ordering information, see Selected Resources, p. 18.)

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biographies and autobiographies of minority and women scientists to help in their advising and to provide examples to help their advisees deal with common pressures.[85]

- **Hold pre-orientation workshops dealing with climate issues for faculty and student assistants who advise incoming women and minority freshmen.** Denison University (OH) sponsors workshops that cover the special needs of women and minority students; sociological and psychological barriers in traditionally male fields; difficulties in integrating personal and professional life; the importance of role models and mentors; and the availability of special campus programs, such as a course in non-threatening math. †
- **Help faculty and career counselors build skills in advising women for nontraditional careers.** Denison University (OH) instituted a program including a workshop on advising women, visits by professionals in various fields, and funding of faculty and student research on issues related to women and careers. †
- **Develop programs to help women (and men) deal with conflicts surrounding academic and career choices.** (Such programs may also be sponsored by women's centers and organizations.)
- **Develop ways to help women handle subtle or overt discrimination.** Discussion groups, publications and a list of resource persons on campus may be helpful.

Recommendations For Training Programs

- **Aid academic advisers, career counselors and other student services personnel to identify ways in which they inadvertently treat students differently on the basis of sex and race.** Audiotape, videotape and other methods can be used.
- **Bring students, faculty and others together to discuss out-of-class climate.** Ask a group of students—in a dorm meeting, a classroom or elsewhere—an open-ended question about climate, such as "What stands out to you as a woman/man/minority on this campus?" The Center for Improving Teaching Effectiveness, Virginia Commonwealth University, devised a similar "class interview" to help white faculty understand subtle behaviors that may discourage black students.
- **Help faculty, administrators and students understand how they may inadvertently encourage behaviors on the part of *others* which disparage women or result in differential treatment** (as by ignoring or encouraging sexist humor and harassment of women, allowing interruption or trivialization of women's comments, etc.).

Recommendations Concerning Residential Life

- **Evaluate the residential climate for women in various types of university-owned housing by survey, interviews or other means.** A general survey to assess residence hall climate was devised by The Survey Research Center, the Institute for Social Research and the Housing Office at the University of Michigan.
- **Familiarize residence hall advisers with climate issues that can discourage women students, and the ways in which students can respond to them, including grievance procedures.**
- **Hold workshops on climate and related issues in residence hall, Greek houses and elsewhere.** An organization of women students at Northwestern University (IL) has teamed with faculty and others to discuss these and related issues in sororities and dorms.
- **Evaluate the impact of fraternities and sororities on the climate for women and other nontraditional students.** A number of institutions such as Colby College (ME), Trinity College (CT), and Amherst College (MA) have done so.
- **Work with fraternity advisers and house presidents to establish and implement guidelines that ban fraternity events which are disparaging to women.**

Recommendations For Curriculum

- **Wherever appropriate, include in introductory courses a unit on sex differences and similarities in verbal and nonverbal behavior and the valuation of behaviors by sex.** Such a unit might be included in courses in several fields, such as Speech/Communications, English Composition, Psychology, Sociology, Linguistics and Women's Studies.
- **Require that all students take at least one course on sex roles and relationships between the sexes.**
- **Require that all students take at least one course in ethnic studies or women's studies.** Denison University (OH) has done so.
- **Incorporate campus climate issues in teacher education programs and in programs geared to service areas.** Emphasize practical techniques designed to identify and overcome subtle differential treatment of students on the basis of sex.

Recommendations Concerning Leadership

- **Encourage women students to participate and seek leadership positions in extracurricular activities,** by, for example, suggesting specific organizations in which a woman student might use her skills.
- **Provide women student leaders or potential leaders with the skills necessary to seek leadership positions comfortably and to function effectively.** The Office of Women's Affairs and the Office of Student Life at the University of Delaware, Newark, for example, offers a one-day workshop covering topics such as assertiveness, time management, peer relationships, mentoring and leadership styles.†
- **Ensure that women students in leadership positions receive necessary background information and guidance, including insight into the informal workings of the particular organizations or committees on which they serve.**
- **Design an on-campus internship program to help women gain experience in student services and extracurricular opportunities.** The Center for the Study, Education and Advancement of Women at the University of California, Berkeley, for example, has interns

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in areas such as academic and career advising, organization and leadership, research on women and educational administration.

Recommendations For Media

- **Ensure that campus media give appropriate coverage to women's activities and issues of concern to women on campus.** Periodically monitor to ensure that women's activities are neither omitted nor trivialized, and are reported in the same way as other comparable stories. A committee might review all media.
- **Evaluate all campus media for overt and subtle sexism in writing, programming, visuals and advertising.** Establish and enforce appropriate guidelines.
- **Use campus media to help make all members of the campus community more aware of climate issues through articles, surveys, interviews and related activities.**
- **Distribute an informational flyer on climate issues which includes suggested actions and resource persons to contact.** The Utah State University Committee on the Status of Women prepared and distributed a flyer entitled "What Can Students Do About Sex Discrimination?"[86]

Recommendations Concerning Women From Special Groups

- **Appoint a high-level administrator to evaluate and improve the climate for special groups of students and to help coordinate services.** At the University of Michigan, for example, an associate vice president for academic affairs is responsible for assessing existing programs for minority students—such as special counseling, minority centers and dorms—and identifying problem areas through discussions with faculty, students and administrators.
- **Ensure that all personnel, especially academic advisers and counselors, are familiar with stereotypes and how their behavior can communicate "mixed signals" to students from other cultures.** Hold workshops in conjunction with minority student centers, and/or disseminate and discuss appropriate background materials. (For some examples, see "Resources," p. 18.)
- **Find ways to encourage out-of-class interaction between minority and majority students, disabled and able-bodied students.** For example, assign team projects to mixed groups comprised of students of both sexes.[87]
- **Offer career programs to address specific problems minority women may face in career counseling.** One institution used a model/mentor approach to pair Black women students and Black professional women in order to discuss career goals and skills, arrange work experiences and participate in career workshops.[88]
- **Develop a network of minority alumni, faculty and staff or those from other special groups who are interested in advising or participating in minority students' activities.** Stanford University (CA) has such a network for Black students.
- **Ensure that informal departmental activities—such as open-houses for majors or professor/student rap sessions over lunch—are held in places accessible to disabled persons.**
- **Establish a formal training program to help faculty, administrators and support staff interact productively with disabled women and men students.** California State University at Chico has instituted a program that includes videotapes, a resource handbook and a trainers manual.
- **Help faculty, student services staff and others overcome concerns about how to relate to disabled students by putting them in touch with colleagues or peers who have worked with disabled students or who are disabled themselves.** The Project on the Handicapped in Science at the American Association for the Advancement of Science, for example, will put faculty in touch with such professors at other institutions.
- **Develop a career program for disabled women.** Career Education for College Women Who Are Disabled, a program at the University of Wisconsin, Stout, is aimed at breaking down barriers which hinder disabled women from selecting college majors consistent with their career interests and aptitudes. It includes career exploration, assertiveness training, job-seeking training, and exposure to successful role models with disabilities.
- **Support the establishment of organizations for women from special groups**—such as graduate women, older women, minority women, women in nontraditional fields, disabled women—**where problems concerning climate issues can be aired and strategies devised to deal with them.**

Recommendations For Students

- **Where appropriate, discuss climate problems with deans, department chairs, and heads of relevant offices and committees, such as those in charge of internships, work-study placements, or academic advising.**
- **Monitor student government spending to ensure that women's organizations and programs—as well as those serving nontraditional student groups—are funded at appropriate levels.**
- **Give faculty, peers and student services staff positive feedback for efforts to create an equitable climate.** Establish a committee to explore climate issues.
- **Encourage student publications, such as the school newspaper, to write about campus climate issues and/or develop a campus climate survey and publish the results.**
- **Take courses and utilize student services and other activities that provide information about and suggestions for handling differential treatment.** If no such opportunities exist, work to have them established.

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WOMEN'S CENTERS

Women's centers can play a key role in improving the climate for women on campus. Through a variety of in-center services, center-sponsored campus programs, and campus/community referrals, women's centers can:

- **increase campus awareness of women's needs, goals and accomplishments;**
- **aid faculty and student services staff in providing productive advising and counseling for women students through training programs, coordination of services, development and dissemination of materials;**
- **offer literature and programs especially developed for women students in areas such as academic and career planning, dealing with discrimination, juggling career and family responsibilities, preparing for graduate school;**
- **assist women students in determining their own needs and seeking help from identified resource people on and off campus, such as faculty who have agreed to talk with women students about academic and career plans; and**
- **provide an "oasis" for women students, faculty and staff on campus.**

Additionally, by co-sponsoring activities with other divisions or organizations on campus—such as a program on women in the sciences jointly sponsored with academic departments—women's centers can help build bridges between campus constituencies to better identify and meet women's needs.

INSTITUTIONAL SELF-EVALUATION CHECKLIST

The following checklist highlights areas institutions will want to consider in evaluating and improving the out-of-class climate for women. Many of the recommendations listed in this paper might also be used for self-evaluation. A more detailed checklist, with questions geared to five separate categories including social-educational climate, is available in the *Institutional Self-Study Guide on Sex Equity for Postsecondary Institutions*, listed in the Resource section of this paper.

_____ Do top administrators include women's issues in speeches, publications and informal talks? Do they communicate an institutional commitment concerning the climate for women to the faculty and staff?

_____ Does the institution periodically review the status of women, including the climate for women on campus? Is there a commission on women or other official body to identify issues and make recommendations?

_____ Is a top level administrator or officer charged with monitoring the climate for women from special groups, including minority women, women in nontraditional fields, disabled women, older women and women graduate students?

_____ Are all official publications--including the catalogue, yearbook, newspaper, etc.—regularly evaluated to see that they do not communicate negative messages about women, either by overlooking women; showing women as "onlookers" but men as "doers"; or otherwise portraying women in a stereotyped fashion?

_____ Are there publicized institutional standards concerning behaviors that create a chilly campus climate for women?

_____ Are student services staff; faculty; teaching, research and residence assistants; clerical staff; contractors; and others provided with appropriate standards, guidelines and/or training for avoiding sex bias in interactions with students? Have they been asked to develop guidelines for their own units?

_____ Are in-service programs offered to help faculty and staff become aware of and change behaviors that may create a chilly campus climate for women?

_____ Are there efforts to ensure that women and members of special populations are employed as faculty, staff and administrators in student support services and in other positions throughout the institution?

_____ Does the institution collect data on the campus climate for women through surveys, interviews or by other means? Are all institutional data collected and analyzed by sex (and race/ethnicity) so that disparate trends for women and groups of minority women (or men) can be identified?

_____ Are there ongoing efforts to evaluate differential applications and dropout rates by sex and race among departments that may reflect a negative climate?

_____ Are special efforts made to recruit and retain women in nontraditional fields, such as physics and mathematics?

_____ Is there a campus women's center? Is it adequately funded? Does it serve as a resource on climate issues for academic departments, student services of-

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fices and individuals on campus?

_____ Are climate issues included in courses where appropriate?

_____ Is there a mechanism for airing concerns and providing feedback to faculty and staff about overtly biased comments, general sexist behavior, and other climate issues?

_____ Are there effective channels for complaints about sexual harassment? Are remedies clear and commensurate with the level of violation? Are the procedures well publicized to all members of the academic community? Is there a procedure to inform new students, staff and faculty about these channels?

_____ Does the institution support and respond to appropriate initiatives taken by individual women or women's groups who raise climate issues with faculty, staff, supervisors, peers and others?

_____ Does the institution support women students' organizations by providing funding, facilities, publicity, etc.?

_____ Do cultural and other events take account of women's concerns and accomplishments? Are data kept so that this can be evaluated periodically?

SELECTED RESOURCES

PUBLICATIONS

Body Politics: Power, Sex and Nonverbal Communication. Nancy Henley, 1977, paperback, 214 pages. Available for $3.95 (hardcover for $10.95) from Prentice Hall, Inc., Mail Order Sales Dept., 200 Old Tappan Rd., Old Tappan, NJ 07675, (201) 592-2000.

Critical Events Shaping Woman's Identity: A Handbook for the Helping Professions. Donna May Avery, 1980, paperback, 147 pages. Available for $5.25 from EDC/WEEA Publishing Center, Order Dept., 55 Chapel St., Suite 200, Newton, MA 02160, (800) 225-3088.

Equity Counseling for Community College Women. Carol Eliason, 1979, paperback, 299 pages. Available for $9.25 from EDC/WEEA Publishing Center, Order Dept., 55 Chapel St., Suite 200, Newton, MA 02160, (800) 225-3088.

Everywoman's Guide to Colleges and Universities. Florence Howe, Suzanne Howard and Mary Jo Boehm Strauss, eds., 1982, paperback, 512 pages. Available for $12.95 from Harper and Row, 2350 Virginia Ave., Hagerstown, MD 21740.

Exploring Educational Equity: Sex Affirmative Guide for Counseling and Teaching. Patricia S. Ball, Mary Ellen McLoughlin and Nan E. Scott, paperback, 628 pages. Available for $17.75 from EDC/WEEA Publishing Center, Order Dept., 55 Chapel St., Suite 200, Newton, MA 02160, (800) 225-3088.

Gender and Nonverbal Behavior. Clara Mayo and Nancy M. Henley, eds., 1981, hardback, 265 pages. Available for $25.50 from Springer-Verlag, 44 Hartz Way, Secaucus, NJ 07094.

"General Standards and Guidelines for Student Services/Development Programs." 2 pages; and standards and interpretive guidelines in a variety of areas including counseling services and career placement and planning (in development), Council for the Advancement of Standards. For further information, contact Dr. William Thomas, Jr., Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs, University of Maryland, 2108 North Building, College Park, MD 20742.

"Guidelines for Cross-Cultural Communication Between Students and Faculty." Mercilee M. Jenkins, paper presented at "Statewide Dissemination Conference: Cross-Cultural Perspectives in the Curriculum," San Francisco State University, March, 1983, 21 pages. Available for $1.00 from the author, Department of Speech and Communication Studies, San Francisco State University, 1600 Holloway Ave., San Francisco, CA 94132.

"Guidelines for Gender-Fair Professional Practices." AACD Committee on Women, March, 1983, 1 page. Single copies available free from the American Association for Counseling and Development, 5999 Stevenson Ave., Alexandria, VA 22304.

"Guidelines for Therapy With Women." Task Force on Sex Bias and Sex Role Stereotyping in Psychotherapeutic Practice, **American Psychologist,** December, 1978, pp. 1122-1123. Single copies of the guidelines, as well as a five-page resource list, **"Some Information on Feminist Counseling and Therapy With Women,"** are available free from Women's Programs Office, American Psychological Association, 1200 17th St., NW, Washington, DC 20036. (Send stamped self-addressed envelope.)

In Recognition of Culture: A Resource Guide for Adult Educators About Women of Color. Sudie Hofmann, compiler, 1983, paperback, 139 pages. Available from ERIC Document Reproduction Service, P.O. Box 190, Arlington, VA 22210. Access No. ED 236419 paper $12.83 (prepaid) or microfiche $1.17 (prepaid).

Language, Gender and Society. Barrie Thorne, Cheris Kramerae and Nancy Henley, eds., 1983, paperback, 342 pages. Available for $11.95 + $1.00 for single-copy handling from Newbury House Publishers, Inc., Rowley, MA 01969.

Re-entry Women: Special Programs for Special Populations. Roberta M. Hall and Francelia D. Gleaves, 1981, paperback, 19 pages. Available for $5.00 (prepaid) as one of 5 papers in Re-entry Packet #1 from the Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1818 R St., NW, Washington, DC 20009.

Removing Bias: Guidelines for Student-Faculty Communication. Mercilee M. Jenkins, 1983, paperback, 61 pages. Available for $7.50 from the Speech Communication Association, 5105 Backlick Rd., Annandale, VA 22003.

Institutional Self-Study Guide on Sex Equity. Karen Bogart, et al., 1981, 5 pamphlets and user's guide, approximately 100 pages. Available for $10.00 (prepaid) from the Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1818 R St., NW, Washington, DC 20009.

Seeing and Evaluating People. F.L. Geis, M.R. Carter and D.J. Butler, 1982, paperback, 86 pages (text), $4.00, and 20 pages (summary pamphlet), $1.00. Available from the Office of Women's Affairs, University of Delaware, 219 McDowell Hall, Newark, DE 19716, (302) 451-8063.

Sexual and Gender Harassment in the Academy: A Guide for Faculty, Students and Administrators. Phyllis Franklin, et al., 1981, paperback, 75 pages. Available for $5.00 (prepaid) and $1.00 postage from the Modern Language Association, 62 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011.

Teaching Minority Students. James H. Cones III, John F. Noonan and Denise Janha, eds., 1983, paperback, 97 pages. Available for $7.95, prepaid, from Jossey-Bass Publishers, 433 California St., San Francisco, CA 94104.

The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women? Roberta M. Hall with Bernice R. Sandler, 1982, paperback, 22 pages. Available for $3.00 (prepaid) from the Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1818 R St., NW, Washington, DC 20009. Bulk rates are available. (A related paper, "Selected Activities Using 'The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women?' " which describes campus projects, is available for $1.00, prepaid.)

The Ph.D. Experience: A Woman's Point of View. Sue Vartuli, ed., 1982, hardback, 144 pages. Available for $23.95 from Praeger Publishers, 521 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10175.

The Undergraduate Woman: Issues in Educational Equity. Pamela J. Perun, ed., 1982, hardback, 433 pages. Available for $32.00 (prepaid) from D.C. Heath and Co., 2700 N. Richardt Ave., Indianapolis, IN 46219.

Toward Equity: An Action Manual for Women in Academe. Karen Bogart, 1984, paperback, 260 pages. Available for $17.00 (prepaid) from the Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1818 R St., NW, Washington, DC 20009.

What Happens After School? A Study of Disabled Women and Education.

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J. Corbett O'Toole and CeCe Weeks, 1978, paperback, 56 pages. Available through regional libraries in braille and on cassette. (Contact the Library of Congress, National Library Service for the Blind and Physically Handicapped, 1291 Taylor St., NW, Washington, DC 20542 for location of participating libraries.)

Women's Academic and Career Choices. Report of a Career Development Program at State University of New York (SUNY, College at Cortland, 1980, paperback, 28 pages. A limited number of copies are available for $1.00 to cover postage and handling from Alice Walker, Department of Psychology, P.O. Box 2000, SUNY-Cortland, Cortland, NY 13045, (607) 753-4218.

"Women's Educational Needs." Jessie Bernard in **The Modern American College: Responding to the New Realities of Diverse Students and a Changing Society.** Arthur W. Chickering and Associates, 1981, hardback, 810 pages. Available for $35.00, prepaid, from Jossey-Bass Publishers, 433 California St., San Francisco, CA 94104.

ORGANIZATIONS

The following organizations can offer institutions various kinds of help—such as publications and other resources, information about ongoing programs, and links to appropriate networks.

AMERICANS FOR INDIAN OPPORTUNITY. Elizabeth Lohan-Homer, 1140 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20036, (202) 463-8635.

ASIAN WOMEN UNITED. Joyce Yu, 170 Park Row, #5A, New York, NY 10038, (212) 870-3347.

ASSOCIATION OF BLACK WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION. Jacqueline A. Kane, 30 Limerick Dr., Albany, NY 12204, (518) 465-2146.

COMMITTEE ON GAY AND LESBIAN CONCERNS, Association for Counselor Education and Supervision. Dr. Joseph L. Norton, Chair, c/o American Association for Counseling and Development, 5999 Stevenson Ave., Alexandria, VA 22304, (703) 823-9800.

COMMITTEE ON WOMEN, American Association for Counseling and Development (AACD). 5999 Stevenson Ave., Alexandria, VA 22304, (703) 823-9800. (Committees dealing with women's concerns in a variety of related divisions and organizations—such as the American College Personnel Association and the Association for Counselor Supervision—can also be contacted through AACD.)

DIVISION 35 (PSYCHOLOGY OF WOMEN), American Psychological Association. Irene Frieze, President, c/o Department of Psychology, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260, (412) 624-8485.

LIAISON FOR MINORITIES AND WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION. Carol J. Smith, U.S. Department of Education, Office of Postsecondary Education, 400 Maryland Ave., SW, Room 3022 ROB 3, Washington, DC 20202, (202) 472-1357.

MINNESOTA WOMEN'S CENTER. Anne Truax, Director, 5 Eddy Hall, 192 Pillsbury Dr., SE, Minneapolis, MN 55455, (612) 373-3850.

MULTICULTURAL WOMEN'S RESOURCE CENTER. Martha P. Cotera, Information Systems Development, 1000 E. 8th, Austin, TX 78702, (512) 477-1640.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN DEANS, ADMINISTRATORS AND COUNSELORS. Patricia Rueckel, Director, 1325 18th St., NW, Suite 210, Washington, DC 20036, (202) 659-9330.

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR RESEARCH ON WOMEN. Mariam Chamberlain, President, 4749 East 65th St., New York, NY 10021, (212) 570-5001.

NATIONAL NETWORK OF HISPANIC WOMEN. Sylvia Castillo, Chair, P.O. Box 4223, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305, (415) 497-2733.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S STUDIES ASSOCIATION. Carol Combs, 0218 Lefrak Hall, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742, (301) 454-1757.

OFFICE OF OPPORTUNITIES IN SCIENCE. Shirley Malcom, Director, American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1776 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20036, (202) 467-5438.

OFFICE OF WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION. Donna Shavlik, Director, American Council on Education, 1 Dupont Circle, NW, Suite 831, Washington, DC 20036, (202) 833-4692.

PROJECT ON THE HANDICAPPED IN SCIENCE. Martha Redden, Director, Office of Opportunities in Science, American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1776 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20036, (202) 467-4497.

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NOTES

[1]Adrienne Rich, "Taking Women Students Seriously," *On Lies, Secrets and Silence*, W.W. Norton and Company, New York, NY, 1979, p. 240.

[2]"Report of the Select Committee on the Quality of Undergraduate Life," Amherst College, January 11, 1980, p. 4. (Subsequently cited as "Amherst Report.")

[3]Alexander W. Astin, *Four Critical Years: Effects of College on Beliefs, Attitudes, and Knowledge*, Jossey-Bass Publishers, San Francisco, CA, 1977, p. 216.

[4]Mary Lou Randour, Georgia Strasburg and Jean Lipman-Blumen, "Women in Higher Education: Trends in Enrollment and Degrees Earned," *Harvard Education Review*, Vol. 52, No. 2, 1982, pp. 189-202.

[5]Elaine H. El-Khawas, "Differences in Academic Development During College," *Men and Women Learning Together: A Study of College Students in the Late 70's*, Office of the Provost, Brown University, April, 1980, pp. 7-8. (Subsequently cited as *Report of the Brown Project.)*

[6]A. Astin, pp. 114, 129. More recent studies suggest some moderation in this trend, but it is still evident.

[7]"Amherst Report," p. 4.

[8]Roberta M. Hall with Bernice R. Sandler, Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, Washington, DC, 1982, hereafter referred to as *The Classroom Climate.*

[9]See, for example, Helen S. Astin and Laura Kent, "Gender Roles in Transition: Research and Policy Implications for Higher Education," *Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 54, No. 3 (May/June, 1983), p. 318; and El-Khawas, p. 19.

[10]Astin and Kent, p. 321.

[11]See, for example, Nancy E. Adler, "Women Students" in Joseph E. Katz and Rodney T. Hartnett, eds., *Scholars in the Making: The Development of Graduate and Professional Students*, Ballinger Publishing Co., Cambridge, MA, 1979, p. 209.

[12]For a current overview and discussion, see Veronica F. Nieva and Barbara A. Gutek, "Sex Effects on Evaluation," *The Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1980, pp. 267-276; and F.L. Geis, M.R. Carter and D.J. Butler, *Research on Seeing and Evaluating People*, Office of Women's Affairs, University of Delaware, 1982. Several of the more recent studies indicate that women may be beginning to evaluate clearly competent women more fairly. See Frieze (note 15), pp. 167-68.

[13]*Ibid.*

[14]For a discussion of these and related issues, see Roberta M. Hall and Bernice R. Sandler, *Academic Mentoring for Women Students and Faculty: A New Look at an Old Way to Get Ahead*, Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1983.

[15]See, for example, Irene H. Frieze, "Women's Expectations for and Causal Attributions of Success and Failure," in Martha T. Mednick, Sandra S. Tangri and Lois W. Hoffman, eds., *Women and Achievement: Social and Motivational Analyses*, Hemisphere Publishing Corp., Washington, DC, 1975, pp. 158-171.

[16]Much of the following discussion is based on Mary P. Rowe, "The Saturns Rings Phenomenon: Micro-Inequities and Unequal Opportunity in the American Economy," published in Patricia Bourne and Velma Parness, eds., *Proceedings* of the National Science Foundation Conference on Women's Leadership and Authority, University of California, Santa Cruz, CA, 1977. (Page numbers for specific quotations refer to a typed copy provided by the author.)

[17]*Ibid.*, p. 1.

[18]*Ibid.*, p. 5.

[19]Karen Bogart, *Technical Manual for the Institutional Self-Study Guide on Sex Equity*, preface to Appendix C, American Institutes for Research, Washington, DC, 1981, pages unnumbered.

[20]For further discussion, see *Sexual Harassment: A Hidden Issue*, Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, Washington, DC, 1979; and Frank J. Till, *Sexual Harassment: A Report on the Sexual Harassment of Students*, National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, Washington, DC, August, 1980.

[21]For an overview and more detailed discussion of these issues, in addition to *The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women?*, see Robin Lakoff, *Language and Woman's Place*, Harper and Row, New York, 1975; Barrie Thorne, Cheris Kramarae and Nancy Henley, eds., *Language, Gender and Society*, Newbury House Publishers, Rowley, MA, 1983; Nancy M. Henley, *Body Politics*, Prentice Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1977; and Barrie Thorne, "Claiming Verbal Space: Women, Speech and Language in College Classrooms," paper presented at the Research Conference on Educational Environments and the Undergraduate Woman, Wellesley College, September, 1975. Some more recent research focuses on the similarities in as well as the differences between men's and women's communication styles.

[22]Student comment in discussion following presentation on classroom climate issues, large state university, May, 1984.

[23]Phyllis Saltzman Levy, "Surviving in a Predominantly White Male Institution," in Sue Vartuli, ed., *The Ph.D. Experience: A Woman's Point of View*, Praeger Publishers, New York, NY, 1982, pp. 51-52.

[24]Paula A. Treichler and Cheris Kramarae, "Women's Talk in the Ivory Tower," *Communication Quarterly*, Vol. 31, No. 2, Spring, 1983, p. 122.

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[25]See, for example, "Student/Faculty Relationships and Freshman Year Educational Outcomes: A Further Investigation," Patrick T. Terenzini and Ernest T. Pascarella, *Journal of College Student Personnel*, November, 1980, pp. 526-527.

[26]See, for example, Jean Howard, "Final Report" in *Report of the Brown Project*, p. 269; and Astin and Kent, p. 320.

[27]See, for instance, Mary Moran, "Women and Student Aid: A Preliminary Assessment," Division of Policy Analysis and Research, American Council on Education, Washington, DC. July, 1984.

[28]See, for example, Michelle Paterson and Lucy Sells, "Women Dropouts from Higher Education," in Alice Rossi and Ann Calderwood, eds., *Academic Women on the Move*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, NY, 1973, pp. 88-89.

[29]Response to Project "Call for Information." (See page 5.)

[30]For further discussion, see Roberta M. Hall and Bernice R. Sandler, *Women Winners*, Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, Washington, DC, 1982.

[31]Donna May Avery, *Critical Events Shaping Woman's Identity: A Handbook for the Helping Professions*, WEEA Publishing Center, EDC, Newton, MA, 1980, pp. 7-8.

[32]Levy, pp. 45-46.

[33]Avery, p. 5.

[34]See, for example, Lilli S. Hornig, "Issues and Answers" in *The Undergraduate Woman: Issues in Educational Equity*, Pamela J. Perun, ed., Lexington Books, D.C. Heath annd Co., Lexington, MA, 1982, pp. 416-418.

[35]Student comment in discussion of classroom climate issues, large northeastern technical institute, February, 1984.

[36]Idem

[37]Response to Project "Call for Information."

[38]See, for example, "Sexism on Campus: Fact or Fiction? A Survey of Negative Incidents Experienced by Women Students at Michigan State University," 1981, pp. 7-8.

[39]Student report of faculty member's comment, large state university, May, 1984.

[40]Denying women access to employment opportunities on the basis of sex violates Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; it may violate state laws and other federal regulations as well.

[41]Response to Project "Call for Information."

[42]For a further discussion of related issues, see Hall and Sandler, *Academic Mentoring for Women Students and Faculty* (note 14).

[43]For further discussion, see Margaret C. Dunkle, *Sex Equity in Student Health Services*, The Equality Center, Washington, DC, in press.

[44]These concerns take on a new significance given the increasing incidence of date violence, acquaintance rape and gang rape on campus.

[45]Edward B. Fiske, "More Colleges Show Concern About Life in Their Residences," *New York Times*, February 25, 1984, pp. 1 and 6.

[46]See, for example, *Report of the Trustee Commission on Campus Life*, Colby College, Colby, ME, December, 1983, p. 4.

[47]Conclusions from interviews reported by the Faculty Committee on the Fraternity System and its Alternatives in William L. Churchill, "Faculty Committee Report," *Trinity Reporter*, Vol. 13, No. 2, Winter, 1983, p. 22.

[48]Response to Project "Call for Information."

[49]Ann Azzi, "D Phi on Probation, Hazing, Scavenger Hunt Cited," *The Brown Daily Herald*, Providence, RI, November 21, 1983, p. 1. (The administration responded by placing the fraternity on probation and prohibiting its sponsorship of any type of scavenger hunt. Several administrators also aired their concerns about the incident in a letter to the editor of the campus newspaper.)

[50]Response to Project "Call for Information."

[51]Response to Project "Call for Information."

[52]Several points in this section are based on Patricia S. Griffin, " 'But She's So Feminine': Changing Mixed Messages We Give to Girls and Women in Sports," *Journal of the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators and Counselors*, Winter, 1984, pp. 9-12. For additional information about differential treatment of women in athletics, see Karen Bogart, *The Institutional Self-Study Guide on Sex Equity;* and Margaret C. Dunkle, *Competitive Athletics: In Search of Equal Opportunity*, Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, September 1976.

[53]Cheryl M. Fields, "Allegations of Lesbianism Being Used to Intimidate, Female Academics Say," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Oct. 26, 1983, Vol. 27, No. 9, pp. 1 and 22.

[54]Astin and Kent, pp. 314-315, 320.

[55]The disproportionately small number of women in campus leadership positions nationwide is indicated by the ratings in the "student leadership" category of *Everywoman's Guide to Colleges and Universities*, Florence Howe, Suzanne Howard, and Mary Jo Boehm Strauss, eds., The Feminist Press, Old Westbury, NY, 1982.

[56]The same problems are often faced by professional women. For further discussion see Hall and Sandler, *Academic Mentoring for Women Students and Faculty* (note 14).

[57]Response to Project "Call for Information."

[58]Response to Project "Call for Information."

[59]Black woman student as quoted in *Integrateducation*, Issues 117-119, May-October, 1982, Vol. XX, Nos. 3-5, p. 6

[60]Mary Helen Washington, "How Racial Differences Helped Us Discover Our Sameness," *Ms.*, September, 1981, p. 61.

[61]Elizabeth Sook Wha Ahn Toupin, "Counseling Asians," *P/AAMHRC Research Review*, Vol. 3, No. 1, January, 1984, p. 10.

[62]See, for example, Birt L. Duncan, "Minority Students" in *Scholars in the Making*, pp. 227-242.

[63]"Amherst Report," pp. 6-7.

[64]*Ibid.*

[65]Mercilee M. Jenkins, "Guidelines for Cross-Cultural Communication Between Students and Faculty," paper presented at "Statewide Dissemination Conference: Cross-cultural Perspectives in the Curriculum," San Francisco State University, March, 1983, p. 14.

[66]For a brief general overview of race and sex differences in communication, see Henley, *Body Politics*, pp. 132-135.

[67]Joseph Katz, "White Faculty Struggling with the Effects of Racism," James H. Cones III, John F. Noonan and Denise Janha, eds., *Teaching Minority Students*, Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, San Francisco, CA, 1983, p. 33.

[68]For further discussion, see Hall, *The Classroom Climate*, p. 12.

[69]Jenkins, p. 16.

[70]Toupin. (See note 61.)

[71]Jenkins, p. 14.

[72]Joanne S. Yamauchi, "The Triple Bind of Asian American Women: Problems of Self-Concept, Communication Behavior, and Cultural Accommodation," paper presented at the annual Speech Communication Association convention, San Francisco, CA, December 27-30, 1976, p. 8.

[73]For further information, see 15-paper series on re-entry women, Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, Washington, DC, 1980-81.

[74]Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 prohibits discrimination against otherwise qualified women (and men) solely on the basis of handicap in federally assisted programs and activities.

[75]Marie Kilmartin, "Disabled Doesn't Mean No Sex," *Ms.*, May, 1984, p. 114.

[76]Hornig, pp. 417-418. (See note 34.)

[77]Based on proposed guidelines, "Statement on Educational Diversity, Equality and Quality," Office of Women in Higher Education, American Council on Education, Washington, DC, June, 1984.

[78]*Ibid.*

[79]*Ibid.*

[80]Harvard's policy statement has been reprinted and is available from the Project on the Status and Education of Women as part of a packet on Rape and Sexual Harassment.

[81]See note 77.

[82]See note 77.

[83]For further discussion, see "Male-Female Interaction Patterns," a summary of "Communication Training as a Prevention for Sexual Harassment" by Cynthia Berryman-Fink, paper presented at the Fifth Annual Communication, Language and Gender Conference, Athens, OH, October 16, 1982.

Counseling and Development as published in "The AACD Connection," Vol. II, No.1, Fall, 1983, pp. 3-4.

[84]J. Herman Blake, "Human Relations in the Academy," *Integrateducation*, Vol. XX, Nos. 3-5, p. 53.

[85]This flyer has been reprinted and is available from the Project on the Status and Education of Women as part of a packet on Rape and Sexual Harassment.

[86]Katz, p. 37.

[87]Nettie Ball Obleton, "Career Counseling Black Women in a Predominantly White Coeducational University," *The Personnel and Guidance Journal*, February, 1984, pp. 365-368.

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